

POLS8051 Authoritarian Politics: Comparative Perspectives

Semester 2, 2023

2-5 pm Wednesday

Room: Seminar Room 246, Gould Building (116)

Instructor: Fengming Lu, Hedley Bull 4.22

Office Hours: 4-5 pm Tuesday or by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Much of human history took place under authoritarian rule. Even today, many authoritarian governments are key global or regional actors. This course is designed to examine various important aspects in authoritarian regimes: their differences with democracies, why they emerge and break down, how they deal with challenges of leadership change, what institutions they adopt, why some dictatorships fail to generate economic growth but some can, and the theories that explain these outcomes. During the course, we will use contemporary events, historical case studies, statistical data, and formal models to examine real-world cases. The goals of this course are to introduce students to the systematic study of authoritarian politics; to deepen their understanding of political changes, dynamics, and developments in non-democracies; and ultimately, to help them critically assess theories about authoritarian politics and to engage in independent analysis of dictatorships in their academic or professional careers.

Prerequisites: Working knowledge on statistical methods and game theory is preferred.

Grading scale: Final grades will follow the general grading scale of the ANU. High Distinction (80-100), Distinction (70-79), Credit (60-69), Pass (50-59), and Fail (0-49).

COURSE MATERIALS

The required textbook for this course is:

- Svobik, Milan W. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

This course will also draw heavily upon several other books. You are not required to purchase them. All required and optional chapters will be posted on Wattle.

- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Brooker, Paul. 2000. *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government, and Politics*. New York: St. Martins Press
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. 2018. *How Dictatorships Work: Power, Personalization, and Collapse*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

All other readings will also be posted on Wattle. Note that the course outline at the end of this document is a tentative list and is subject to change. You will be notified in class or via email at least one week in advance about upcoming readings, should there be any changes.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- **Class Participation (10%)**: Students are expected to finish the assigned reading materials, attend seminars, participate in classroom discussion actively. Before each seminar, each student is required to submit one or a few critical question(s) about the weekly reading. Students will be marked based on participation at the end of the semester. Marks are not given for simply attending.
- **Oral Presentation of a Self-selected Piece of Reading (10%)**: In our Week 2 meeting, students are expected to choose at least two journal articles or book chapters from a weekly topic that fits their interests. At the beginning of the corresponding weekly seminar, the student will provide a 10-minute oral presentation about these pieces of reading, The oral presentation is supposed to cover the main motivations, theoretical argument, research method and empirical evidence (if applicable), and theoretical implications. In addition, the student is also supposed to raise a couple of critical questions related to the reading, which will motivate the following-up discussion.
- **Book Review (20%)**: Each student will choose one book from an extensive list (see the “Suggested Books” below), which includes biographies, memoirs, non-fictions, historian accounts, historical novels, and even political pamphlets that is related to authoritarian politics. Before the end of the mid-term teaching break, each student is supposed to submit a critical and analytical book review that not only briefly summarizes the case of autocrat or autocracy in the book, but offers critical discussion about the narrative. A good example of an analytical book review can be found in *The Economist, Perspectives on Politics*, and *The New Yorker*. As information transparency in dictatorships is often

problematic, this assignment of analytical book review examines the student's ability to distill useful and politically relevant information from primary or journalistic accounts. The review is due on 29 August and marks will be returned by 10 September.

- **Oral Presentation of a Case Study (20%):** Between Weeks 10 and 12, each student is expected to choose a contemporary or historical authoritarian regime and deliver a 15-minute presentation with slides. The presentation is supposed to cover key institutional facts about the regime, such as its origin and fall (or transition, if applicable), who holds the power and how the power is shared (if applicable), how the economy is run, whether it holds elections and why, how the regime controls the military, how the successor is chosen, and etc from a comparative perspective.
- **Final Research Paper (40%):** The student will choose one essay topic based on their interest and materials learned in the course. The word limit is 5,000 words. This assignment gives students an opportunity to explore their interested topics about comparative authoritarianism in greater details, demonstrating the student's overall ability to critically synthesize classic and cutting-edge research and conduct independent, evidence-based research. It is also highly encouraged to submit a fully implementable research design in lieu of the final research paper. Students will have a one-on-one consultation with the course convenor and discuss their tentative essay topic by 3 November. The final paper is due on 13 November.

Suggested Books:

- Carroll, Rory. 2013. *Comandante: Hugo Chávez's Venezuela*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Castañeda, Jorge G. 2000. *Perpetuating Power: How Mexican Presidents Were Chosen*. New York: New Press.
- Dawisha, Karen. 2014. *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Gao, Hua. 2018. *How the Red Sun Rose: The Origin and Development of the Yan'an Rectification Movement, 1930-1945*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.
- Gessen, Masha. 2012. *The Man Without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin*. New York: Riverhead Trade.
- Godwin, Peter. 2011. *The Fear: Robert Mugabe and the Martyrdom of Zimbabwe*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.
- Karsh, Efraim. 2002. *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography*. New York: Grove Press.
- Khlevniuk, Oleg V. 2009. *Master of the House: Stalin and His Inner Circle*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Kotkin, Stephen. 2017. *Stalin: Waiting for Hitler, 1929-1941*. London: Penguin Books.
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich. 1902. *What is to Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement*.
- Lim, Louisa. 2014. *The People's Republic of Amnesia: Tiananmen Revisited*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Myers, Steven Lee. 2015. *The New Tsar: The Rise and Reign of Vladimir Putin*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- McGregor, Richard. 2010. *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. New York: Harper.
- Plokhy, Serhii. 2014. *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union*. New York: Basic Books.
- Royko, Mike. 1971. *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago*. New York: Dutton.
- Shum, Desmond. 2021. *Red Roulette: An Insider's Story of Wealth, Power, Corruption, and Vengeance in Today's China*. London: Simon & Schuster
- Vargas Llosa, Mario. 2001. *The Feast of the Goat*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Zeldin, Theodore. 1958. *Political System of Napoleon III*. London: Macmillan.

Academic Honesty: Any work submitted for assessment by a student at ANU must be work that is original, produced by the student for the purpose of a specific assessment task, and gives appropriate acknowledgement of the students use of others' ideas, scholarship and intellectual property.

Flexibility: This course will accommodate students' special needs for support. If the student holds a valid Education Access Plan (EAP) and need to request an extension for an assignment, please notify the course convenor at least TWO WEEKS IN ADVANCE.

University Attendance Policy: Students are expected to attend lectures and tutorials regularly. If the student encounters any emergency situation that prevents them from attending, please contact the course convenor as soon as possible. If you have a medical emergency or condition, please send the course convenor a GP-signed document.

Important Dates:

- 29 August book review due
- Weeks 10-12 case study presentation
- 3 Novemberdeadline for one-on-one consultation
- 13 Novemberfinal paper due

COURSE OUTLINE

A solid circle ● indicates **required** reading and an asterisk * indicates **optional** reading. A box □ indicates a pre-class exercise.

Week 1 — Democracy and Dictatorship: Concept, Categorization, and Measures

- Chapters 1 and 2, “The World of Authoritarian Politic”, in Svobik, Milan W. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge University Press.

- Chapter 1, “Democracies and Dictatorships” in Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chapters 1 and 2 in Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1999. “What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2:115-144.
- * Chapters 1 and 2, Brooker, Paul. 2000. *Non-democratic Regimes: Theory, Government, and Politics*. New York: St. Martins Press.

Week 2 — Causes of Democratization, Dictatorships, and Authoritarian Break-down

- Chapters 1 and 2 in Acemoglu, Daron and James A Robinson. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
 - Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. “Modernization: Theories and Facts.” *World Politics*, 49(3): 155-183.
 - Welzel, Christian and Ronald Inglehart,. 2007. “Mass Beliefs and Democratic Institutions.” In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, pp. 297-316. New York: Oxford University Press.
 - Boix, Carles. 2011. “Democracy, Development, and the International System.” *American Political Science Review*, 105(4): 809-828.
 - Slater, Dan, Benjamin Smith, and Gautam Nair. 2014. “Economic Origins of Democratic Breakdown? The Redistributive Model and the Postcolonial State.” *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2): 353-374.
 - * Haggard, Stephan and Robert Kaufman. 2012. “Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule.” *American Political Science Review*, 106(3): 495-516.
 - * Ansell, Ben, and David Samuels. 2010. “Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach.” *Comparative Political Studies* 43(12): 1543-1574.
- Pick one dataset that measures regime type and present its methodology.

Week 3 — Personalistic Rule and Succession of Leadership

- Svolik, Chapter 3.
- Gorlizki, Yoram and Oleg Khlevniuk. 2006. “Stalin and His Circle.” In Ronald G. Suny eds, *The Cambridge History of Russia, Volume 3*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chapters 5-7 (also skim through Chapter 15) in Gao, Hua. 2018. *How the Red Sun Rose: The Origins and Development of the Yan’an Rectification Movement, 1930-1945*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Kokkonen, Andrej, and Anders Sundell. 2014. “Delivering Stability – Primogeniture and Autocratic Survival in European Monarchies 1000-1800.” *American Political Science Review*, 108(2): 438-453.
- Brownlee, Jason. 2007. “Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies.” *World Politics*, 59(4): 595-628.
- Frantz, Erica and Elizabeth A. Stein. 2017. “Countering Coups: Leadership Succession Rules in Dictatorships.” *Comparative Political Studies* 50(7): 935-962.
- * Geddes, Wright, and Frantz, Chapters 4 & 5.
- * Reno, William S. K., 1997, “Sovereignty and Personal Rule in Zaire,” *African Studies Quarterly*, 1(3): 39-64.
- * Kokkonen, Andrej, Jørgen Møller, and Anders Sundell. 2022. “The Politics of Succession: Forging Stable Monarchies in Europe, AD 1000-1800.” New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 4 — Understanding Street Protest and Repression

- Kuran, Timur. 1991. “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989”. *World Politics*, 44(1): 7-48.
- Goldstone, Jack. A. 2011. “Understanding the Revolutions of 2011.” *Foreign Affairs*. 90(3): 8-16.
- Beissinger, Mark R. 2013. “The Semblance of Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine’s Orange Revolution.” *American Political Science Review*, 107(3): 574-592.
- O’Brien, Kevin J. 1996. “Rightful Resistance.” *World Politics*, 49(1): 31-55.
- Chapter 2 in Blaydes, Lisa. *State of Repression: Iraq under Saddam Hussein*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- * Robertson, Graham. 2007. “Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes.” *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 781-798.

- * Deng, Yanhua and Kevin J. O'Brien. "Relational Repression in China: Using Social Ties to Demobilize Protesters". *The China Quarterly*, 215:533-552.
- * Xu, Xu. 2021. "To Repress or To Co-opt? Authoritarian Control in the Age of Digital Surveillance." *American Journal of Political Science* 65(2):309-325.

Week 5 — Propaganda, Media Control, and Various Forms of Censorship

- Chapter 2 in Wintrobe, Ronald. 1998. *The Political Economy of Dictatorship*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2017. "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument." *American Political Science Review*, 111(3): 484-501.
- Egorov, Georgy, Sergei Guriev, and Konstantin Sonin. 2009. "Why Resource-poor Dictators Allow Freer Media: A Theory and Evidence from Panel Data." *American political science Review* 103(4): 645-668.
- Rozenas, Arturas and Stukal, Denis. 2019 "How Autocrats Manipulate Economic News: Evidence from Russia's State-Controlled Television." *Journal of Politics* 81(3)
- Huang, Haifeng. 2015. "Propaganda as Signaling." *Comparative Politics* 47(4): 419-437.
- Huang, Haifeng. 2017. "A War of (mis)information: The Political Effects of Rumors and Rumor Rebuttals in an Authoritarian Country." *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 283-311.
- * King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 326-343.
- * Lorentzen, Peter. 2014. "China's Strategic Censorship." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(2): 402-414.
- * Roberts, Margaret E. 2018. *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- * Hollyer, James R., B. Peter Rosendorff, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2015. "Transparency, Protest, and Autocratic Instability." *American Political Science Review* 109(4): 764-784.
- * Wedeen, Lisa. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Week 6 — Origins of Coups and Military Dictatorships

- Svolik, Chapter 5
- Geddes, Barbara, Erica Frantz, and Joseph Wright. 2014. “Military Rule.” *Annual Review of Political Science*. 17(1): 147-162.
- Roessler, Philip. 2011. “The Enemy within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa.” *World Politics* 63(2): 300-346.
- Geddes, Wright, and Frantz, Chapter 7.
- Marinov, Nikolay, and Hein Goemans. 2014. “Coups and Democracy.” *British Journal of Political Science* 44(4): 799-825.
- * Geddes, Wright, and Frantz, Chapter 3.
- * Chapter 9 “The Antirevolutionary Military Regimes” in Wright, Thomas C. 2001. *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- * Chapter 4, “From Revolution to War, 1917-1941” in Taylor, Brian D. 2003. *Politics and the Russian army: Civil-Military Relations, 1689-2000*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 7 — Why Non-democracies Have Elections and When Frauds Take Place

- Chapters 1-3 in Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. “Elections Under Authoritarianism.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403-422.
- Magaloni, Chapter 1.
- Geddes, Wright, and Frantz, Chapter 6.
- Morgenbesser, Lee, and Thomas B. Pepinsky. 2019. “Elections as Causes of Democratization: Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective.” *Comparative Political Studies* 52(1): 3-35.
- * Knutsen, Carl Henrik, Håvard Mokleiv Nygård and Tore Wig. 2017. “Autocratic Elections: Stabilizing Tool or Force for Change?” *World Politics* 69(1): 98-143.
- * Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. “Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Postcommunist Colored Revolutions.” *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(4):535-551.
- * Rundlett, Ashlea, and Svolik, Milan. W. 2016. “Deliver the Vote! Micromotives and Macrobehavior in Electoral Fraud.” *American Political Science Review*, 110(1): 180-197.

Week 8 — Authoritarian Ruling Parties: Elite Power-sharing, Grassroots Co-optation, and Party Organization

- Svolik, Chapters 4 and 6.
- Magaloni, Chapters 2-5.
- Geddes, Wright, and Frantz, Chapter 5.
- Lu, Fengming and Xiao Ma. 2019. “Is Any Publicity Good Publicity? Media Coverage, Party Institutions, and Authoritarian Power-Sharing.” *Political Communication* 36(1):64-82.
- Chapter 1 in Torigian, Joseph. 2022. “Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion: Elite Power Struggles in the Soviet Union and China after Stalin and Mao.” New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- * Malesky, Edmund, Regina Abrami and Yu Zheng. 2011. “Institutions and Inequality in Single-Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China.” *Comparative Politics* 43(4): 409-427.
- * Chapters 1,2, 4, and 6 in Brownlee, Jason. 2007. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- * Magaloni, Beatriz and Ruth Kricheli. 2010. “Political Order and One-Party Rule.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13: 123-143.
- * Chapter 1 in McGregor, Richard. 2012. *The Party: The Secret World of China’s Communist Rulers*. New York: Harper.
- * Li, Cheng. 2019. “China’s Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power.” In William A. Joseph, eds, *Politics In China: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- * Greene Kenneth F., 2010. “The Political Economy of Authoritarian Single-Party Dominance.” *Comparative Political Studies* 43(7): 807-834.

Week 9 — Authoritarian Legislatures: Elite Co-optation, Sharing of Spoils, and Access to Information

- Introduction and Chapters 2 and 3 in Gandhi, Jennifer. 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gehlbach, Scott, and Philip Keefer. 2012. “Private Investment and the Institutionalization of Collective Action in Autocracies: Ruling Parties and Legislatures.” *Journal of Politics* 74(2): 621-635.

- Malesky, Edmund, and Paul Schuler. 2010. “Nodding or Needling: Analyzing Delegate Responsiveness in an Authoritarian Parliament.” *American Political Science Review* 104 (3): 1-21.
- Chapter 8 (pp. 190-201) in Geddes, Wright, and Frantz.
- * Truex, Rory. 2016. *Making Autocracy Work*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- * Pepinsky, Thomas. 2014. The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism. *British Journal of Political Science*. 44(3): 631-653.

Week 10 — Natural Resources, Development, and Democratization

- Chen, Ting and Kung, James K-S. “Do Land Revenue Windfalls Create a Political Resource Curse? Evidence from China.” *Journal of Development Economics* 123:86-106.
- Chapters 1 and 2 in Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Haber, Steven and Victor Menaldo. 2011. “Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse.” *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 1-26
- Ross, Michael. 2001. “Does Oil Hinder Democracy?” *World Politics* 53(3):325-361.
- Chapters 1-3 in Ross, Michael. 2012. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- * Dunning, Chapters 3-6.
- * Smith, Benjamin. 2007. *Hard Times in the Lands of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Week 11 — Authoritarianism and Economic Development

- North, Douglass C. and Barry R. Weingast. “Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England.” *The Journal of Economic History* 49(4): 803-832.
- Doner, Richard F., Bryan K. Ritchie, and Dan Slater. 2005. “Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective.” *International Organization* 59(2): 327-361.
- Xu, Chenggang. 2011. “The Fundamental Institutions of China’s Reforms and Development.” *Journal of Economic Literature*, 49(4): 1076-1151.

- Malesky, Edmund and Jonathan London. 2014. “The Political Economy of Development in China and Vietnam.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 395-419.
- Zhang, Qi, Dong Zhang, Mingxing Liu, and Victor Shih. “Elite Cleavage and the Rise of Capitalism under Authoritarianism: A Tale of Two Provinces in China.” *The Journal of Politics* 83(3): 1010-1023.
- * Myerson, Roger B. 2008. “The Autocrat’s Credibility Problem and Foundations of the Constitutional State.” *American Political Science Review*, 102(1): 125-139.
- * Wade, Robert. 1992. “East Asia’s Economic Success: Conflicting Perspectives, Partial Insights, Shaky Evidence.” *World Politics*, 44(2): 270-320.
- * Zhou, Li-An. 2016. “The Administrative Subcontract: Significance, Relevance and Implications for Intergovernmental Relations in China.” *Chinese Journal of Sociology*, 2(1), 34-74.
- * Zhang, Qi and Mingxing Liu. 2019. *Revolutionary Legacy, Power Structure, and Grassroots Capitalism under the Red Flag in China*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Week 12 — Rethinking Origins of Dictatorships: State Formation and Democratic Backsliding

- Olson, Mancur. 1993. “Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development.” *American Political Science Review*, 87(3): 567-576.
- Tilly, Charles. 1985. “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime.” In Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol eds., *Bringing the State Back In*, pp. 169-191. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sánchez de la Sierra, Raúl. 2020. “On the Origin of States: Stationary Bandits and Taxation in Eastern Congo.” *Journal of Political Economy* 128(1): 32-74.
- Waldner, David and Ellen Lust. 2018. “Unwelcome Change: Coming to Terms with Democratic Backsliding.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 21: 93-113.
- Graham, Matthew H. and Svobik, Milan W. 2020. “Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States.” *American Political Science Review*, 114(2), 392-409.
- * Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- * Svobik, Milan W. 2019. “Polarization versus Democracy.” *Journal of Democracy*, 30(3): 20-32.
- * Svobik, Milan W. 2019. “When Polarization Trumps Civic Virtue: Partisan Conflict and the Subversion of Democracy by Incumbents.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 15(1): 3-31.